

3.

AMERICANISM.

SPEECH OF HON. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL,

OF OHIO,

Delivered at the American Mass Meeting, held in Washington City, February 29th, 1856, as reported and published in the "American Organ."

Mr. CAMPBELL entered the hall, accompanied by the Committee, and was received with enthusiastic cheers by the assembly.

He appeared upon the stand, and, being presented by Hon. JOAN T. TOWERS, President of the meeting and Mayor of the city, said:

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens:

I have this moment entered the hall, and do not know exactly what you are doing, or what you intend to do. In fact, Mr. President, I have been almost forced from my quiet apartments, a few steps up the hill, by your Committee, after I had once declined their invitation, in the early part of the evening. I feel, therefore, that I am placed under embarrassing circumstances. If it be your purpose to perpetuate the great principles of American Liberty and the Union of the States, in that spirit in which our Revolutionary fathers secured them for us, then I am with you with all my soul! [Cheers.]

Before I proceed to make a speech, it is but proper that I should say that I came here with no intention to commit myself to the support of men, or to identify myself with your proceedings, further than to speak my views upon American principles.

I have always been a Whig. Enlisting under the banner of that great party in 1832, when it was gallantly borne onward by that lamented American statesman, "Harry of the West," I did not desert it so long as the organization continued. But it is now conceded that the Whig party is dead—that it is "defunct in the abstract!" [Laughter and applause.] It was a glorious old party, and my eminent friend from Kentucky [Mr. Crittenden, who sat on the stand] and I will long cherish our pleasant recollections of it in the stirring times of 1840 and 1844, when, shoulder to shoulder, without reference to geographical lines, we battled for its principles. [Applause.]

Mr. President, all the old parties have been knocked to pieces. [Cheers.] To use the favorite expression of a Western friend, they are

now in a state of "confusion confuzed." [Laughter and cheers.] Why, sir, where is the Democratic party—the party as it existed in the days of General Jackson? It has been reduced to a mere association of men, whose only aim appears to be the spoils of victory! [Applause.] It no longer exists as a party of fixed principles. Were President Pierce to send out all his force of marshals and deputy marshals, to find such a party, each one provided with a national search warrant, they would fail to discover the fugitive! [Applause.] It, too, has departed! His marshals would have to make returns upon their writs similar to that of the Kentucky constable. A *Kentuck fight* once occurred at a tavern on "Bar Grass!" One of the combatants broke a whisky bottle over the head of his antagonist. The result was a State's warrant. The defendant fled through a corn-field, over the creek, into a swamp, and there climbed a stump. Seating himself in the fork, he drew his "Bowie," and, as the constable approached in pursuit, he addressed him:

"Now, Mr. Constable, you want to take me, and I give you fair warning that if you attempt to climb this stump, 'by the Eternal, I'll take you!'" [Laughter and applause.] The constable, who had been about the court-house enough to learn some of the technical terms used in returning writs, went back to the Squire's office, and endorsed upon the warrant: "*Non est inventus! through fieldibus, across creekum, in swampum, up stumpum, non comeatibus!*" [Laughter and cheers.] So it is with the old Jackson Democratic party—"non comeatibus!" [Cheers.]

[At this point, a disturbance and rencontre took place, in a distant part of the hall. Cries of "Put him out!" "Sag Nicht!" "Put him out!" Mr. Campbell, cried at the top of his voice, "No! don't put him out! Bring him here, and give him a seat on the stand!" This created much laughter, and restored order when Mr. Campbell again proceeded.]

It is an interesting point to observe what has caused this disruption of these great parties. It is due to truth and frankness to say that it was that "vexed question" of Slavery—a question which has, from the foundation of the Government, given us, as a nation, very great trouble. That question has destroyed the Whig party; it has split into fragments the Democratic party, and now threatens to divide and render powerless the American party. Yes, gentlemen, it is the "*distinguished gentleman from Africa*"—[laughter]—who was at an early period dragged to this favored land of ours, (to which he didn't belong,) by the cupidity of Northerners as well as of Southern men—he has done this thing! It is the "colored gentleman in the fuel," or (if I may be permitted to express it in vulgar parlance) the "*nigger in the wood pile*," who has given us all this trouble. [Cheers and laughter.] He ought never to have been put in our fuel, and if I could have my way, I would take him out and send him back to his native home in Africa, where he belongs. [Renewed cheering.] My opinions on this mischievous question of Slavery are well known here, and everywhere, where I am known. I always have maintained, maintain now, and expect to contend hereafter, that all the powers of the Constitution ought to be exercised to prevent its extension, and that the North should freely accord to the slave States, in good faith, *all that is guaranteed to them* by that American bond of Union which makes us one people, and binds us all to a common destiny. [Cheers and applause.] On this subject I intend hereafter, as heretofore, to *think for myself, act for myself*, and on proper occasions *speak for myself*, as an American may do, independent of party drill and party platforms. [Cheers.]

But, sir, when this American party was first formed, Slavery was regarded as an *outside issue*, having no legitimate connection with the reforms which it intended to accomplish. I regret that circumstances afterwards occurred which have prevented its continuing to be an *outside issue*. That mischievous act which repealed the long-acquiesced in Missouri Compromise, and startled the whole country, has forced into the American party this disturbing element. Yet, sir, (said Mr. Campbell, turning to Mr. Crittenden, of the Senate, and Mr. Puryear of North Carolina, of the House, who sat immediately on his left,) such is my confidence in the honor and patriotism of the two distinguished gentlemen from the South on my left,* that I believe we could retire to an ante-room, and, although it would be two to one as between North and South, fix up a platform in reference to the merits of that act, upon just and conciliatory terms, in ten minutes. [Cheers.] But the trouble is, it would not stay fixed, [laugh-

ter,] because, unfortunately, there are extremists in both sections, who seem determined to defy the Constitution and jeopardize the Union, and to disregard plighted faith.

But, Mr. President, I pass from this melancholy theme, which it may not be proper to discuss on an occasion like this, to a brief consideration of some of the more legitimate topics—to the principles for which your organization was originally formed.

It is not *always* profitable to declare "I am an American;" yet I venture it to-night. Whilst I make this avowal now, I hold in my hand no dark lantern! Born upon the soil, and sharing in the blessings, the honors, and comforts, which the valor of our ancestors has secured to us, may I not say of my country, in the language of the American poet:

"I love thee for those hero souls
Who answered Freedom's call;
I love thee for the Liberty
Thou claim'st, and giv'st to all.
I love thee for the stalwart arms
And braver hearts that stand,
A stronger guard than castle wall,
For thee—my native land!"

It is American Liberty and American Institutions we seek to perpetuate. This can be done only through the purification of the elective franchise, and a ballot-box which shall not be controlled either by foreign influences or the power of any church. [Prolonged cheering.] We are charged with making war upon the Catholic religion—a war which is said to spring from prejudice. That is untrue. I certainly have no prejudice, (never having been a member of any church.) My partialities run with the Protestants, because in youth I was trained in that faith, and in manhood learned, from the history of the past, that the Protestant has always been the church of Freedom! [Cheers.] No, sir; we stand by the Constitution. The fathers who made it intended, as we do, to secure to all men the right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences. To do this effectually, we intend there shall be *no union of Church and State*. [Cheers.]

We will let the Catholic and the Protestant each have unlimited freedom of religion, and the unrestrained right to adopt and practice any form of worship; but we say to all, you must not bring the combined power of your Church, especially if it be governed by a head in a foreign land, holding no sympathy with our institutions, to control the American ballot-box! [Cheers.]

If there be any Catholic in this country, who is not satisfied with this sort of religious liberty, I tell him the sooner he "*packs up his duds*" and goes back, the better for him; because Sam is after all such persons. [Cheers.] But our Catholic friends complain that they are particularly marked in this movement. If they are, who is to blame? If they are specially looked after by the Americans, it is because in those countries where Papal power prevails there is

* Mr. Puryear, of North Carolina, voted with Mr. Campbell against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and Mr. Crittenden is understood to regard it as a measure fraught with evil to the country.

no genuine liberty, either civil or religious! [Applause.]

In shaping our political action on this point, we must be governed by the lights of the experience of the past. If we do not find in our own political history facts enough to justify the most vigilant scrutiny into the movements of the Jesuits, we need but cast the eye over the pages of history, or over old ocean into Southern Europe, now, for warnings to us that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance," and that it can do no harm to guard against an abuse of the political power of the Pope of Rome in America. [Applause.]

Intimately blended with this question is the question of freedom to the *Bible*. How stands that point? We find in many States, cities, and towns, an open war on the part of our Catholic fellow-citizens against the use of the Bible—that profoundest teacher of wisdom to all men—in our schools of learning. They fight these battles with a zeal that can originate only in a fanaticism that strikes down the genius of religious liberty! Again: You go to Italy. You take your passports, under the great seal of the Government of the United States of America. You take your trunk, containing your wearing apparel, and a Protestant Bible—perhaps an old family relic, the last present of a dying mother. When you cross the line to Papal power, your passport with the broad national seal will admit your person and your shirts, your old boots, &c.; but they will not pass that good old Book you love, if not for its contents, on account of the associations that entwine it with your heart of hearts! Oh, no! the officer of Government under the power of the Pope will not tolerate its introduction, and under no circumstances can you ever acquire political power there; yet at the same time, under the liberality of American law, we allow the Church of Rome to send here and circulate without restraint its form of the Bible by ship loads, accompanied by thousands and tens of thousands of members of that Church, with whom we divide the sovereign powers of our Government.

Now, Mr. President, I do not know that this plank is in your late platform, (for I have not examined it, and am sick of platforms,) but it is in mine. I would have "Sam," when he gets strong enough, (and he will grow and strengthen daily,) exact of all the nations of the earth with whom we are in friendly intercourse, equality in all things—[cheers]—especially equality in all that pertains to religious liberty—[cheers]—and the right of *Young America*, or *Old America*, to take with him, wheresoever he may rightfully go, any form of the Word of God which suits his religion, whether it be Catholic or Protestant. [Prolonged cheering.]

And again, sir: "All men must die." Thus it is written in *Nature's* record! In this great land of ours, the spirit of Americans secures to the wayfarer, who is smitten by the fell destroyer, Death, without regard to the place of

his birth or the peculiarities of his religion, the freedom of funeral obsequies. How is it in Papal lands with the fallen Protestant American? Sir, you are not allowed to consign his mortal remains to their resting place in mother earth, with as much decent respect as a foreign Catholic in America is allowed to bestow on the burial of his Newfoundland dog. [Cheers.] Here, sir, is another plank which my Americanism would stick into your platform. I would have our Government demand—aye, secure—the right of respectful funeral ceremonies to the American when he dies, from every nation on the face of the footstool of Almighty God with whom we have amicable relations. [Cheers.]

Is there any Catholic or any foreigner in America who will dare say this is an unjust demand? Sir, our movement, embarrassed as it is by internal difficulties, must establish, and will establish, sooner or later, that which we have never had, because we have never boldly asserted our right to it—an *Independent Nationality*! [Cheers.] Yes, to use the expression of Kossuth, we must be recognised everywhere as one of "*the Peoples*" of the earth—as an independent Power, acting upon the principle of "equal and exact justice," in our intercourse with other nations—asking nothing *more* than that which we give—accepting nothing *less*! [Cheers.]

We are charged with a proscription of foreigners, in proposing a reform in our naturalization laws. A few words, briefly, on that point. With the right of suffrage as to the foreigner who has immigrated, or with his privilege to be naturalized under our present system, we do not propose to interfere. To those who are yet in foreign lands, we give notice of a new rule of law which is to be established. That is all. Who can justly complain of this? Certainly not the man of foreign birth now with us. That there is a necessity for a reform in this regard, no man can deny. I will not go into statistics on an occasion like this, but I have authentic documents to prove that foreign Governments, who profess to be on terms of friendly intercourse with us, have long been disgorging from their penitentiaries and their pest-houses, their felons and paupers, and shipping them to the shores of America! In some countries—particularly in Belgium—the Legislature has seriously considered, as a question of economy to the Government, whether it would not be better to abolish their prison and poor-house system, and transport their felons and paupers to America! That Belgium has often perpetrated this great international wrong, there is no doubt. England, too, has sent her felons from Botany Bay! Sir, "*Young America*"—that is to say "*Samuel*" and his family—have determined to put an end to these transactions, even though the remedy be that most dire of all resorts—the word of "*three little letters—W-A-R!*" [Cheers.]

What do we, in our States, provide in refer-

ence to paupers who are *native-born Americans*? By statute, which regulates the intercourse in the family of counties in either of our States, it is provided that paupers sent from one county to another may be sent back at the expense of the county sending them. That is simply all we propose, in our intercourse with the family of nations. When they send paupers to America, we will ship them back again, at the expense of the nation that sends them, and we will exact "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." [Cheers.]

Why, sir, these paupers and felons become *sovereigns* here under our laws. In Indiana, the fundamental law gives them suffrages in one year after they are sent here. Under the Kansas-Nebraska act, each cut-throat from a foreign penitentiary, and each loathsome diseased pauper from the pest-houses of Belgium, may be clothed, in an hour after his arrival, with as much power to regulate "domestic institutions," and shape the destinies of those great Territories, filled by the God of Nature with all the elements necessary for the increase of *American* power, as either Washington or Jefferson could have, were they to arise from their graves at Mount Vernon and Monticello, and appear at the ballot-box! This is no fiction. It is a stern reality, and the thought makes one's American blood course quickly through his veins. [Cheers.]

Whilst you make such laws and submit to such wrongs, what do you provide in reference to our *native-born felons*? Let us draw a picture in illustration. One of these old bullet-riddled soldiers of the American Revolution, or one of the veterans of the war of 1812, is in the lobbies of Congress, endeavoring to get a bill passed to pay him for supplies he furnished our army in "the days that tried men's souls!" He is poverty-stricken, because the Government has withheld from him that which it owes. He has, perchance, a starving family, and is too proud to beg. He passes your market space at twilight, wending his way to his desolate home, and tempted, or rather driven, by *Necessity*—that law of human nature which overrides the provisions of all other laws—he steals a horse, in order that he may buy bread. He steals one of those old Virginia nags, which we see there on market days—blind in both eyes, string-halt and spavin—a horse that would not bring two dollars and a quarter under the hammer! What does your law do with that old soldier? It sends him to your penitentiary, and disfranchises him forever! Should he ever afterward appear at the ballot-box, your imported sovereign-felon from Botany Bay, with hands stained in the blood of his wife or child, having voted, would challenge successfully the veteran's vote, on the ground of infamy!

Now, sir, I appeal to men of all parties—I appeal to the man of foreign birth, who has adopted this as the land of his future destiny and the home of his children—I appeal to all

men whose political action is in any wise governed by the principles of moral right—is not the American party correct in its opposition to the influx of foreign paupers and felons? If Americans, native and adopted, now here, cannot rule America, who should rule it? Shall we degrade ourselves by submitting tamely our heritage of Freedom to influences such as these? Never! I say never! [Applause.] It may suit the purposes of a veral party to cut off the heads of Americans in office, and thus deprive them of bread, to make room for their *adopted* fellow-citizens! This system of importations from foreign prison cells and pest-houses may give "the party" power. But, mark it! Power thus secured will be short-lived. [Applause.] If we must have the aid of such a foreign influence to carry on our Government, let us at once have a provision of law to send the American ballot-box into all foreign lands. Let it be taken, there, from penitentiary to penitentiary, from prison to prison, from cell to cell, from lazaret-house to lazaret-house, from pest-house to pest-house! Let the inmates decide who shall rule America! Let them deposit their tickets, to neutralize and overcome ours in deciding who shall govern the land of our birth, if it must be so. But let us, I ask, with a view to the safety and well-being of our own people, and for the protection of our firesides, our families, and our homes, resist this influx of paupers and felons, who bring to us disease, poverty, and death! [Applause.]

God knows we have our own internal troubles; but these are our business—not the business of other nations—and we can settle them ourselves without their interference. We certainly do not seek the help of those who do not come to our shores voluntarily, from love of liberty, determined to maintain our institutions and abide by our laws. We wage no war against the adopted citizen of foreign birth, if he be truly American in heart. But if he seeks to inculcate *foreignisms* and subvert our system, or engraft upon it principles which he imports from other lands adverse to American policy, then we say to him, We are against you, and we can get along without you, whether your name be *John Bull*, *Patrick O'Rafferty*, or *Hans Heitenspokenberger*! [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. President, some of our own people—native-born Americans—threaten to dissolve our Union. Now, sir, I regard that as simply ridiculous. The truth is, "that thing can't be did!" [Laughter.] At least, sir, I know that my native State (Ohio) regards all talk about dissolution as the fruit of imaginations bewildered by fanaticism. Why, sir, how would you make the division? It has been said that the Ohio river is to be the dividing line. The honorable Senator (Mr. Crittenden) and I will both object to that, for many reasons. The gallant Buckeye lad have crossed over that river; they have wooed, won, wedded, and carried back Ken-

tucky's fairest daughters. [Applause.] They have reared hosts of young Americans, [applause;] and do you suppose they are ready to split and make a division? [Laughter and applause.] No! It's not worth while to talk about that. Kentucky and Ohio, whatever may be their troubles as neighbors, will never consent to belong to separate Confederacies, and thus render their people, linked together by the strong ties of consanguinity, *aliens and foreigners to each other!* No, never! [Cheers and applause.]

If dissolution is to be our destiny, I trust I shall not live to witness the border strifes which must ensue. I never want to see the pure waters of the beautiful Ohio reddened with American blood shed by American hands! [Applause.] I have strong feeling on this point. When an infant on the Ohio frontier, without protection from the scalping-knife of those savages hired by British gold to massacre, indiscriminately, the pioneer mother and her children, in the war of 1812, joy and gladness were brought to the heart of the mother who watched over my cradle, by the express who returned from the scene of hostility with the news, "*The Kentucky regiment has arrived!*" Yes, sir, when Ohio, in her infancy, was about to be overcome, Kentucky's noblest spirits rallied to the rescue of the young sister, and, under the lead of the gallant Harrison, drove back and conquered the foe! [Applause.] Now that we have grown strong under our institutions, I cannot forget the history of the past, and contemplate without emotion the idea that those two States shall ever be brought into conflict upon fields of battle. [Applause.]

Mr. President, our path of duty is plain. In regard to our domestic troubles, we must maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and laws. Fidelity to these in all things, by all sections, and at all times, and obedience to the constituted authorities of the land, will make this Union perpetual. [Applause.] With our Union as it is, and thorough fraternal feeling between its various parts, we may present ourselves to the world as a grand Nationality, fostering its own labor and developing its own resources—as a people, *independent*, whether in *peace* or in *war*, capable of doing our own *voting*, and, when necessity calls, capable of doing our own *fighting*, too! [Applause.]

Let us move on in defence of these great principles, and then, as we grow stronger and stronger, America will quicken and lengthen her step in the grand march of nations in human progress; and when those of us who are now actors in the great movement shall have been gathered to our fathers, our children will hail those glorious stars and stripes which now hang so gracefully over you, Mr. President, and to which we have plighted our fidelity, in the language of one of our native-born poets—

"Flag of the free heart's only home,
By angel hands to valor given,
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all thy hues were born in Heaven!
Forever float that standard sheet,
Where breathes the foe but fails before us;
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And Freedom's banner waving o'er us!"

As Mr. CAMPBELL retired, the meeting cheered with great enthusiasm, and prolonged the cheers for some time.

Mr. CRITTENDEN then followed, in an eloquent address.

From the American Organ, March 18, 1856.

HON. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL.

A portion of the Northwestern press, pursuing the "crushing out" policy which Giddings, Wade, Greeley, and others, commenced at the opening of the present session of Congress, have pursued Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, and misrepresented his course, with a bitterness of feeling unbecoming civilized men. We know of no offence which this gentleman has committed, unless it be that, in the House of Representatives, he dared to assert, in a voice which rang throughout the remotest parts of that Hall and its ample galleries, "*I am an American!*" The more recent assaults upon this gentleman originated with the Cincinnati *Gazette*, the Ohio *State Journal*, and the Toledo *Blade*. These papers are edited by Messrs. Schouler and Follett, who, it is said, bartered away the honor of Ohio for a chance to pocket the profits of the House printing, and by a Mr. Williams, who succeeded in fobbing the stealings of the House binding.

This trio of unscrupulous editors have most violently assailed Mr. Campbell on the strength of an imperfect, hasty, and in several respects erroneous sketch of a speech which he made at the American ratification meeting, on the 29th ultimo, and which sketch appeared in the *Organ*, given us by our local reporter without Mr. Campbell's corrections, or any supervision, which only purport to be a rough sketch of his remarks. As one of the committee to procure speakers, we know that Mr. Campbell only came to the meeting, after repeated solicitations, and without preparation—yet his speech was one of which no American need be ashamed—it was replete with wit and humor, and was at times exceedingly eloquent. We heard every word of it, being ourselves on the stand, and

within ten feet of the speaker, and we vouch for the accuracy of the full report of it given to-day in our columns.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, March 13, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: The Cincinnati *Gazette*, the Ohio *State Journal*, and other Republican papers in the West, are assailing me with much violence, charging that I made a speech at the recent mass meeting in this city, which we addressed, in which I abandoned my principles on the *Slavery question*, and pledged my support of Fillmore and Donelson.

You heard every word I uttered on that occasion, and I therefore call on you to state whether anything occurred to justify such charges and assaults.

Very truly, yours, &c., LEWIS D. CAMPBELL.

HON. JOHN J. CRITTENDEN, U. S. Senate.

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: I avail myself of the earliest moment of leisure to reply to your letter of yesterday.

Avoiding any recapitulation of your letter by referring to it, I proceed to state that I was present on the occasion alluded to—sat near to you—listened attentively, and heard all that you said in your address to the meeting.

You commenced by stating distinctly, perhaps I might say emphatically, that you had been called out unexpectedly, and, in appearing, did not wish or intend to be considered as committing yourself to men, or as participating in the proceedings of the meeting, further than to discuss the principles of the American party, as you understood them.

In reference to Slavery, you said that it was an element in question that had destroyed the Whig party, split the Democratic party, and now seemed to threaten or divide the American party.

You declared that you had always been, and then was, opposed to the further extension of Slavery, and would oppose it by all constitutional means; but that you were in favor of giving to the South all its constitutional rights; and that on this question you would think and act for yourself, and, on proper occasions, speak for yourself.

You then went on to the discussion of other subjects—the evils and abuses of the foreign emigration; the protection of American institutions and labor, by the purification of the ballot box, &c.; and closed by ridiculing threats to dissolve the Union, and especially condemning the idea that Kentucky and Ohio should belong to separate Confederacies, and their sons and daughters, who had intermarried, be made aliens and foreigners to each other.

This, I think, sir, was about the course and scope of your remarks. I do not wish it to be understood that I have attempted to give a literal report of any part of your speech, but only the substance of it. I think I have given that correctly, so far, especially, as is relevant or material to the attacks or charges which you say have been made against you. I heard nothing from you to warrant or justify such charges, according to my understanding of

the subject. I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
yours, &c., J. J. CRITTENDEN.

Hon. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, March 14, 1856.

At your request, I have read the letter of the Hon. J. J. Crittenden. I was one of the audience, and heard every word of your speech, and my recollection agrees fully and entirely with that of Mr. C., as to what you then said.

Yours, respectfully,

O. F. MOORE.

Hon. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 15, 1856.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your note of to-day, I have carefully read the letter of Mr. Crittenden, relative to your address at the recent ratification meeting. It is in every particular correct. I was present as a spectator, and while I regretted that you took any part in the meeting, I observed with pleasure that you did not in the least commit yourself to the nominations of the Philadelphia Convention, nor abate or modify, in any respect, your well-known convictions in regard to the extension of Slavery. Very truly, yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

Hon. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL.

"ANTECEDENTS" ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

September, 1844.—Mr. Campbell (being then a candidate for Congress in Ohio) published in the papers of his district a letter in reference to Slavery, in which he said:

"Having been born and reared in the valley of the Miami, I have naturally, from boyhood, looked upon Slavery; as a blight, bringing in its train great moral and political evils. Although not favorable to the course pursued by the Abolitionists or Liberty party, and opposed to every measure which would violate the compromises of our forefathers in the adoption of the Constitution, still I shall resist every new scheme proposed to add strength or power to the evil." * * * *

"I am satisfied with our Union as it is, and trust I shall ever be found, in prosperity or adversity, its true and steadfast friend—in favor of such legislation as will protect all its interests—sustain its honor—promote the happiness of our people—and render us, as no doubt the God of Nature designed we should be, at all times, whether in peace or in war, independent of all the nations of the Earth."

October, 1848.—Mr. Campbell was elected to Congress, and, during the canvass, opposed the further extension of Slavery. On the 19th of February, 1850, he made his first speech in the House of Representatives. After discussing the question elaborately, he closed as follows:

"I have shown some of the reasons why I am in favor of the Proviso of the Ordinance of '37. I designed going at large into an exhibition of its practical effects. For want of time, I will relate incidents which are calculated to impress them upon the mind.

"I have a constituent who has been an eye-witness to the rapid progress of that Territory to which our Revolutionary fathers first applied it. He is a native of the 'Old Dominion,' and at the age of sixteen fought in the battles of Entaw, of Camden, and of Guilford Court-House. The Northwest Territory was then a vast, unbroken wilderness, uninhabited save by the savage and the wild beast. No keel had ruffled the smooth surface of her magnificent lakes and rivers! Her boundless forests were untouched by the woodman! The sod of her vast prairies was unbroken by the agriculturist! In 1787, it was decreed that this soil should never be polluted by the foot of Slavery! In 1789, he left his friends, and, with his rifle upon his shoulder, cast his destiny there. In that year, he taught, in a log cabin on the banks of the beautiful Ohio, the second school of the Northwestern Territory. Subsequently, he aided to 'carry up the corner' of the first log cabin, where now stands the great city of Cincinnati! In 1802, he was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitu-

tion of Ohio, and aided in embodying in it the clause inhibiting Slavery. Sir, that man still lives to witness its fruits. Four millions of freemen are happy there, with no fears of insurrections to trouble them in the stillness of the night—the lamentations of no slave to disturb their repose. Instead of the single hut, surrounded by savages, thousands of colleges, academies, churches, and school-houses, adorn the land, and tens of thousands of merry children acquire in them those impressions which will make them useful to their country, and prepare their souls for eternity. Sir, I relate this to challenge gentlemen to point me in the history of all the world to any country, in any age, where, in the lifetime of one man, such progress has been made, and for the purpose of pointing to these monuments there erected to the patriotism, wisdom, and sagacity of those who formed the old Continental Congress of 1774! That individual, although aged, still lives, and is still physically able to protect the family of a native of that soil who is absent from his home to urge, as a solemn duty, the passage of the same provision for the Territories which our posterity must occupy.

"Before high Heaven, let me say, that duty, regardless of consequences, will be discharged. That person will urge upon all to keep up the lights of Liberty enkindled by our fathers; that we may be directed by them in the advancement of measures which will secure the highest degree of perfection of which man in his fallen condition is susceptible in this life; and when 'his futile dream is over,' a place in that land where sorrows and oppressions never come."

August 12th, 1852.—In the House of Representatives, Mr. Campbell defended General Scott's principles as a Whig, and in the course of his speech again opposed the introduction of Slavery into the Territories. He closed:

"Let others do as they may, sir; for my own part, I have long been enlisted in this cause—a soldier not for three months, nor six months, nor 'for the war' alone, but for life; and my greatest aim shall be so to press on, that when my battles are all over in this world, it may be written of me, politically at least—

"Faithful found

Among the faithless. * * * *

* * * * * "Unmoved.

Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,

His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;

Nor number nor example with him wrought

To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind."

February 17th, 1854.—Mr. Campbell replied to the speech of Hon. A. H. Stephens, of Geor-

na, in the House of Representatives, on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and closed as follows:

"In conclusion, I can but say, that upon this question is upon every other which involves the extension of Slavery, I stand by the Constitution. I stand where Washington stood! I stand where Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, stood! I stand where Patrick Henry, where Lee, and where Harrison stood! I stand, sir, where the patriots of all Virginia stood in her best days! I stand, sir, where Adams, and Sherman, and Jay, and Hooper, and Caswell, and Gadsden, and the Rutledges stood, during the Revolutionary contest for Freedom! To adopt the language of another, as evidence of my respect for his position on this question:

"I stand upon the Ordinance of 1787. There the path is marked by the blood of the Revolution. I stand in company with the 'men of '87,' their locks wet with the mists of the Jordan, over which they passed—their garments purple with the waters of the Red Sea, through which they led us of old to this land of promise. With them to point the way, however dark the present, hope shines brightly on the future; and, discerning their footprints in my path, I, should tread it with unflinching trust!"

[Here the hammer fell.]

May 11th, 1854.—The House was engaged for two days and two nights in continuous session on the Kansas-Nebraska act. The following is the account of the closing midnight scene, taken from the *Congressional Globe*:

"Mr. CAMPBELL. I simply desire, Mr. Speaker, as this whole matter is out of order, to inquire of the gentleman from Georgia—

"Mr. SEWARD. I call the gentleman to order.

[Cries of 'order,' from all parts of the Hall.]

"Mr. CAMPBELL, amidst much confusion, said: I shall resist this measure to the bitter end! I say so, never minding the gentleman who calls me to order.

[Cries of 'order!']

"Mr. SEWARD. There are other places, instead of this, where personal difficulties may be settled.

[Members here crowded around Mr. Campbell. Many got on the tops of the desks.]

"Mr. CAMPBELL. I tell gentlemen that I shall resist this measure with all my power, to the last extremity, and to the bitter end!"

[Members still continued crowding around Mr. Campbell.]

"The SPEAKER. The Chair calls on all lovers of order to preserve order in the Hall.

"The Sergeant-at-arms, with the mace of the House, proceeded to compel members to resume their seats, and preserve order.

"The SPEAKER. Those who are disorderly are acting in contempt of the House.

[Cries of 'Down from the desks!']

"Order was now partially restored."

December 14th, 1854.—Mr. Campbell again replied to the speech of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the causes of the defeat of the Administration candidates for Congress in the free States. He closed his speech as follows:

"It cast from high places of trust and from low ones—from the foreign court and from the village post office—men, honest, capable, and faithful, who dared, in defiance of its dictation, to exercise, independently, the sovereign rights of American freemen; and appointed, in their stead, those who were neither fitted, by birth, by education, nor by other high qualities of manhood, to fill the stations:

"It repealed the Missouri Compromise. Yes, sir, it tore from the record that great act of our fathers, rendered sacred, as it had been, to the people of the North and of the South, by the great cause of our National Union, in which it originated, and the long acquiescence of all the States, it has reopened, in violation of its solemn vows the bleeding wounds" which the 'healing measures' of 1850 were designed to cure. It has thrown wide open the sluices of

sectional strife, as the late elections and this discussion fully prove.

"I repeat it, sir, in no spirit of personal unkindness to its members, this Administration has fallen—fallen like Lucifer!" The unerring pen of history will record, in small space, an account of its works and its achievements: *It repealed the Missouri Compromise—it struck at the Know Nothings, not knowing where to strike—it captured Greytown! and went down!*

"Like the snow-flake on the river,

A moment white—then gone forever!"

"Looking at its incoming, its condition, and its approaching inevitable outgoing, I repeat, 'more in pity than in anger,' the words of the poet:

"—How a-e the mighty fallen!

And by the people's hand! Low lie the proud!

And smitten with the weapons of the poor—

THEIR TALE IS TOLD; and for that they were rich,

And robbed the poor; and for that they were strong,

And scourged the weak; and for that they made laws

Which turned the sweat of labor's brow to blood—

FOR THESE, THEIR SINS, THE NATION CASTS THEM OUT."

February 28th, 1855.—Mr. Campbell again replied to Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, on the question of excluding Slavery from Territories, and concluded his remarks as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, this controversy is closed, at least for the present. I leave it as I entered it—with no personal feeling of unkindness towards the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens,] or any other member on this floor. I am firmly, resolutely determined in the future, as I have been in the past, to oppose the extension of Slavery; but I seek no conspicuous position in any struggle. A few more short days, and we separate—many of us to meet no more on this side of Jordan. Before another Congress convenes, my mortal remains may sleep under the shade of my native Buckeye, and I desire we should part in peace. If life is spared me, however, I shall return to these scenes of strife, in obedience to the decree of the people. I shall come to respect the feelings and opinions of others, yet determined to defend my own principles and the rights of my constituents, under all circumstances, and at all hazards! And, sir, I believe there will be many others from the wildwood of the free forests, each of whom will come here with his 'five smooth stones gathered from the brook,' ready to defend the right. Should I stand alone, believing that my position on this subject is founded upon the immutable principles of God's justice, I shall not be dismayed when the wild storm may rage in these Halls. Planting myself firmly upon the principles of Liberty and Truth and National honor, as proclaimed by the founders of the Republic, if the Philistines gather around in battle array, I will draw my feeble blade, and bid defiance in the language of the gallant Fitz James, when surrounded by the clan of Roderick:

"Come on, come all—this rock shall fly

From its firm base, as soon as I!"

December 7th, 1855.—Congress convened on the 3d. Mr. Campbell was voted for as a candidate for Speaker, for five days, and withdrew from the canvass on the 7th, when his vote was more than six times as great as that of any other Anti-Nebraska candidate, making the following speech:

"Mr. Clerk, I ask the indulgence of the House until I can remove one of the obstacles to our organization. The country is looking on our proceedings with deep anxiety, and every member is ready to acknowledge the importance of a speedy organization. We have now been voting five days; twenty-three votes have been taken. I find, through the partiality of friends, that I have received, in six of those votes, a higher number than any other candidate before the House; and in all the votes, a greater number than any other candidate of the opposition to the Administration. Yet, sir, it is obvious to me that it is impossible for my friends to succeed, unless I can perform one of three conditions: to repudiate my well-known principles in reference to Slavery; my views on Americanism; or, in some way, directly or indirectly, to make pledges with regard to the forming of committees, which will amount to a sacrifice of my self-respect, and make me, in my opinion, a fit object for public contempt!

"Under these circumstances, and feeling that the interests of the country require an organization, and regarding those interests *as paramount to every other consideration*, I withdraw my name from the canvass. And in taking my seat, I desire to return to the friends who have shown so much fidelity to me my sincere gratitude, and my thanks to my political opponents who have given me evidences of their personal regard. My name is withdrawn."

December 21st, 1855.—Before a Speaker was elected, a discussion arose on the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act.

Extract from the Congressional Globe.

"Mr. JONES. I want to ask my friend from Ohio [Mr. CAMPBELL] whether, if the people of the Territory of Minnesota came here, and, through their Delegate, ask him to allow them to have the privilege of having Slavery or not, as they please, he will vote for that?"

"Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio. Never! [Applause.]"

January 9th, 1856.—Hon. Joshua R. Giddings (Mr. Campbell's colleague) having written a letter for publication in the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, reflecting upon the course of Mr. Campbell during the election of a Speaker, Mr. C. addressed the House on the subject of newspaper misrepresentations. The following is an extract from his speech:

"Were I to undertake to correct all the misrepresentations that have been made through the newspaper press in reference to my course during the last few months, I would take perhaps a week of the valuable time of this body. I recollect that during the last summer—and I speak of it now in the hearing of one of the editors of the paper, who, as an ex-member of Congress, is entitled to the privileges of the Hall—I was denounced in the *New York Tribune* as being in the city of Philadelphia, endeavoring to sell out the Northern portion of the American party to the 'slave oligarchy' of the South.

"The truth of the matter is simply this: that at that very time I could not have been in the city of Philadelphia, unless I had been sent by this new system of telegraph which the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PENNINGTON] has spoken of, in the morning from my home on the Miami, and returned again in time for my dinner. In reference to the charge of being a 'doughface,' that has been heralded through that press and others, to my constituents, and all over the country, I have simply to say, without intending to use denunciatory language, or any expressions of unkindness to those editors, that there is not one syllable of truth in this charge. I have uniformly, since I have been connected with politics, taken the position that *power is conferred upon Congress by the Constitution to exclude Slavery from the Territories, and I have contended that it is expedient to exercise that power.* I have fought the battle before the people upon that principle, and I appeal to gentlemen from every section of this country to say whether I have not, in my poor feeble way, fought the battle here; and I challenge all the *Tribunes*, and all the newspapers, and all the letter-writers, and all the outsiders, and the rest of mankind, to prove that I ever uttered, either in writing or orally, publicly or privately, here or elsewhere, anything inconsistent with that position." * * *

"Again: I have supported that distinguished gentleman

[Mr. BANKS] under the full belief that he is, as I am—*I am proud to declare*—an AMERICAN, [applause in the galleries,] and in favor of the leading characteristic principles of that organization. He openly declared such to be his principle—when interrogated in the last Congress, and I know the fact from other sources. And recently his colleague, [Mr. DAMRELL] when the question was before this body, declared the fact that he still belonged to that organization. If I have been deceived in this, it is due to either that gentleman or his friends; should I deceive me now; for there has been going on what is called the 'crushing out' process. I understand full well that the leading politicians of this country, a year ago sent out a decree from this Capitol, that every man who was adhering to the American party must be 'crushed out;' and that decree was followed up by the active efforts of prominent newspaper editors. I have been made to feel their power; but I still survive." * * *

"I hold in my hand a copy of a paper, issued this day, which has a very extensive circulation in the North—the *National Era*, of this city. I find this language in the paper, speaking of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BANKS:]

"What is his position? He is known to have been a Democrat, as he is known to be a Republican; but what Republican cares for his opinion about the tariff?"

"Now, sir, as a member of this body, I care about his opinion, and the opinion of every other gentleman in this House, upon the subject of the tariff, because I am one of that class of politicians who believe in the great American principle sustained by the greatest American statesmen, that the Government ought to protect, by law, all the interests and all the industry of this favored land of ours against the adverse policy of foreign nations. Yet I do not make that question paramount to all others. I am willing to waive that temporarily, for the sake of achieving a greater end; but I cannot waive, I do not waive, and will not waive, for any purpose, all the principles declared by the American organization."

January 28th, 1856.—Hon. Edward Wade (Mr. Campbell's colleague) having published an anonymous letter in the *Cleveland Herald*, assailing Mr. Campbell's course in the House of Representatives, Mr. C. brought the matter to the notice of the House, and closed his remarks as follows:

"On the subject of Slavery my position is, I trust, well known to every one in this House, and fully understood by those I represent. I have never occupied a doubtful position on that question here, or among my constituents."

"My position on the subject of Americanism is also well known, and has been boldly avowed. I apprehend it is because it is so well known here and at home that these assaults are made upon me. If this principle of 'crushing out' is to be pursued, because of my avowals on the subject, then I can say to my colleague that he will have a lively time of it before he finishes his contest with me. Sir, we have nailed the banner to the mast on which the principles of American reform are inscribed. If he seeks to prostrate me for this cause, I point him to that banner:

"Our flag is there! our flag is there!

We'll hail it with our loud huzzas!

Our flag is there! our flag is there!

Behold its glorious stripes and stars!"

"We do not intend to abandon it—never! never!"